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to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body." Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

"Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[183] "There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. [782]

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[a] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[b] As he scours himself, he asks *Mınakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Alquntăm* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Mınakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Mınakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mınakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [224] [926] [985] [515] [296] [823] [825]

[a] Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently.

[b] The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble.

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782 224 726 [785] party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each member of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destination, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Minakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 776 Although *Älquntäm*, under the name of *Minakais*, is the one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Minakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining, people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as Qnax. In cold winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

782 776 825 821

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 [291] Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 424 821 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemālotla*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Aiya Xemxemālotlas,"	*nuquihdit*	*lhk*	*di sny"nudz*
Hail, *Xemxemālotla*,	open	the loftiest	of your heaven
skāxyuxumdu	*dji sikxwuiqux*		*tcim nāwudjux.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemālotla* is the being who takes care of *Tlāqmā-kt* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather. [776]

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [824] [785]

"The vocative form.

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-
father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

[824] If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
825 supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
261 of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

[502] Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
133 powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
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775 782 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Ānukāldimut kuskao*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[756] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [753] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [789] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. XI).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

831 785 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *xwtsta*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

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sary to understand the attitude of the Bella Coola to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack import, since its very humanness distinguishes those who practise it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the contagion of mankind that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, this essentially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power; but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated belief is accepted without question by every Bella Coola, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrates the point rather clearly:

A party of Kingcome Inlet people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Inlet. While returning home, one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky islet, *Sno-ăddăx*, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The islet was barren, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt seals, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had with them on landing was now exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished, the chief said to his wife:

"The youths have done their best. Now that death is before us I want to create a kindly feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. It is a strange request but our condition is unusual, and the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."

The wife acquiesced. The chief then told one of the young commoners to lie with her, and afterwards to tell a comrade to do likewise,

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539 831 785 [837] [622] who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instructions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

831 785 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with [224] 825 [783] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean" by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas- [184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always 224 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the 785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[34] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[35] as pos-

[34] The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.

[35] Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the common term, *e·m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Älquntäm* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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831 ence was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been
785 driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times
[773] it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chas-
[789] tity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his
[789] boat, none the worse for his mishap. The men who cited this instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella
[124] Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins
[783] to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

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this practice had been handed down with the name from the beginning of time; another man stated that it was no prerogative and could be used by anyone. The best time for hunting was at the equinoxes, and *Nusχalχiq* always observed ceremonial chastity in such a way that it terminated at that date. Before setting out, the hunter prepared a net of the shape shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1). The net was stretched over a wooden framework, about ten feet long and four feet wide; counterbalanced by a long and heavy handle. The whole affair was called, "The House-like Thing." Choosing a still night, the hunter used to set out in his canoe paddled by a number of assistants. *Nusχalχiq* would place himself in the bow with his net, and in the middle of the craft a small fire was kept burning with resinous sticks piled beside it so that it could be kindled into bright flames at a moment's notice. As the canoe was slowly paddled along the shore, the geese were half attracted, half repelled by the light. Unwilling to take to flight, they used to swim around at the edge of the illumination and so were guided into some narrow opening of the shore. Then *Nusχalχiq* would throw his net so that the end farthest from the handle first touched the water and as the latter came crashing down it imprisoned a number of birds. Others, bewildered by the light and the falling net, tried to fly outwards and were knocked down by the paddlers. These were retrieved at once and the necks of those caught in the net were wrung at leisure. It is said that this method of hunting was almost always successful.

FIG. 1
Goose Net

Another *Täl·io* hunting device which, however, was not transmitted and may have been merely an individual stroke of genius, not an inherited prerogative, was employed to kill seals. The last to use this method was the father's father of an elderly Bella Coola. This man used to go out at night in a

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *sisaok* names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

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occasionally preserved as the theme of a *sisaok* dance. The term is also somewhat loosely applied to any instance of supernatural help. The reason for the receipt of power is often attributed to the strong supernatural elements of the favoured one, or to his having made himself agreeable to supernatural beings by the observance of ceremonial chastity or other propitiatory means. A few individuals assert that there is a tendency for supernatural aid to follow certain ancestral families, but such a belief is not general.

The following story is typical of the kind of assistance granted although no clear picture can be presented except through the native medium—a number of different tales, such as are given in the following chapter.

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *'Yeäxdji*

Not long after the earth was first populated there were living at *Ḳwiyai*, near Namu, two Bella Bella men, *Ḳomo'sala* and *Ḵālkum*, with their wives, relatives, and slaves. *Ḳomo'sala*'s son, *'Yeäxdji*, fell a victim to the virulent disease, *łłokułg*, which causes the face of the sufferer to swell and his flesh to rot. When the case appeared hopeless, his father called his herald to tell the people to abandon *Ḳwiyai*, and to leave the dying youth alone. Accordingly they removed the planks from the houses, packed them on canoes with all the food and clothing from the village and went away, leaving the unfortunate *'Yeäxdji* alone in his misery. Only an old slave woman took pity on him; before she left she hid some glowing embers with frayed cedar-bark in a large clam-shell and told him where to find them.

'Yeäxdji wept bitterly when his relatives departed, but presently he dried his tears and set about making the best of his position. He unearthed the clam-shell and blew the embers into a fire. Next he made a hammer with which he built a rude shelter. A diet of clams at first satisfied him, but before long he made a hook in hopes of catching some trout. He went up the river to a suitable spot, dropped in his baited hook and almost immediately felt a bite. He hauled up his line eagerly, but it was only a worthless bull-head. Angrily he pulled out the hook and threw the fish back into the water. Almost immediately there was a bite, again he drew up his line only to find as before that it was a bull-head, which he hurled back into the river. This happened twice more, until, discouraged at landing only four useless fish, he wrapped his head

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it.

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious.

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one.

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777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
[424] of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own
● [785] a portion of a *mätsqus* or a *sɔsiutl*, through failure to observe ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätsqus* and the *sɔsiutl* are the same animal, which can assume these two forms; others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular creature. Hence the details here described are probably not all known to any one individual.

* 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective of whether or not the methods used may be in direct contradiction to those employed by someone else on another occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätsqus*, for example, from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that disaster would have followed if the method described had not been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätsqus* was
* 787 brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
[773] ancestors, *Omqomkilka*. It is to this fact that he attributes his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

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777 224 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mätsqus*. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year.

He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one [785] year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mätsqus*. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long [785] worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phen- [424] omenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

777 On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure * 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before [776] long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew that it must be that of *Twalältit*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped [761] with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

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Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants.

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *okäl*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Okäl*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck.

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *sisaok* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle.

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* 756 * 787 like power, and will tell their son to try the same method. In this way a descendant of shamans has a better chance to become one than anybody else. Another indication that a person is likely to become a shaman is to be wakened from sleep by a mouse. As he sits up, hastily, thinking that someone has called him, all that he sees is the disappearing rodent. Mice have a [825] rather peculiar position in the eyes of the Bella Coola, since they believe that these animals regard themselves as superior to mankind.

"The food of mortals is our food," say the mice.

His parents now tell the boy that he is likely to become a shaman, and that he must accordingly take great care of himself. If he is an adult, he will begin to observe ceremonial [785] chastity, and in any case will spend much time alone, avoiding the trivialities of life in the village, and will think little about mundane matters. At intervals he goes alone to the forest, especially to some spot beside a waterfall, the kind of place that supernatural beings frequent. Here he lies down, sometimes for several days, with evergreen boughs spread beneath and above him. These are clean and nullify the mortal odour so objectionable to supernatural beings, so that his chance of obtaining a visitation is increased. He does not know what may appear to him, but he carefully remembers his dreams[1] which, as his thoughts are centred on lofty subjects, are likewise about matters of importance. If his dream is sufficiently clear to warrant the term vision, the recipient should remain, fasting, for four days on the spot where it occurred, and should say nothing about it when he returns home. His strength increases with every vision, until at last, sometimes after a period of thirty years or more, he will obtain a real one and the power to cure a disease. Sometimes dreams come to him in the village, but they are more likely to occur in a secluded spot in the [178] forest. It is impossible to obtain examples of these dreams since, for a long time, no one has been brave enough to seek

[828] [1]The Bella Coola do not differentiate between mental images that appear in sleep and visions seen during waking hours.

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power in this way, but their type can be judged by the shamanistic performances hereafter described, many of which are believed to have been derived from them.

The members of different families have remembered various means of making a person "clean" so that a supernatural being is likely to visit him. Almost every family knows one or more of these, and an individual who shows signs of becoming a shaman will be taught how to use his family method. In conjunction with this, the seeker after power will further purify himself by abstaining from sexual intercourse, by frequent washing in hot springs, by eating small portions of the tails of snakes and the heads of toads, and by avoiding food prepared by a widow or by a girl secluded after puberty. In this way he hopes that his dreams will be fruitful, and that a vision may be granted him as he lies in the forest on his evergreen couch.

The following are some of the methods to be practised at dawn every fourth day.

(1) The seeker after power locates a small stream on either side of which there are growing two shoots of devil's club. At dawn he breaks off the four stems and strips from them the bark, which he uses to scrub himself in the cold water. As he does so he says:

"Please give me power that I may see what I wish to see."

This is addressed to the plant itself, not to the supreme god. It is a request to be able to see some one of the many supernatural beings that roam the forests, but which are invisible, or appear only as animals, to all but shamans. The words are not a fixed formula, and similar ones are said in connection with each method. After washing, the seeker for power throws the bark and peeled stem into the water.

(2) Again selecting a secluded stream, the would-be shaman picks up a smooth, water-worn pebble from one side of it, and with this rubs his body, then carefully replaces it in the exact position from which he took it. He repeats the process with a second stone, crosses the stream and does likewise with two stones from the farther margin.

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* 956 783 * 787 (3) Choosing a place where two small hemlocks are growing on each side of a small stream, the seeker after power bends down the four saplings so that their branches reach the water, and with these scours his body, the spines frequently rasping his skin. When finished, he releases the saplings, which fly back to their original position.

[278] (4) Another method is to devour four small sections, each rather larger than a match, of false hellebore root. These are drunk with cold water and cause vomiting. The use of this plant is not limited to dawn, nor is it necessary to repeat it every fourth day. Apparently, the usual prayer is not said with it.

[785] Any, or all, of these methods, especially if combined with the observance of ceremonial chastity, may purify the performer so that he will be able to see what is not vouchsafed to most persons. *Thitcăplilăx·a*, or one of the other supernatural beings, may grant him a revelation with shaman's power. This does not always happen, as the above means of purification are not omnipotent, but in many myths where the hero obtained supernatural power it was due to his having tried one of the above, or a similar ritual.

* 956 * 787 [796] The most common method of becoming a shaman is through the appearance of *Thitcăplilăx·a* when a person is ill. This woman, who always wears a blanket-like cape decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, is able to travel anywhere at phenomenal speed. She, or some other supernatural being, may appear to a sick person irrespective of sex, whether or not ceremonial chastity has been observed. It seems as if she took pity on the sufferer and came to bring relief. The following are typical examples:

A woman had long been crippled with rheumatism. She was so helpless and weak that she spent most of her time curled in a heap on the floor, heedless of the ashes and dirt with which she was covered. Her friends barely attended to her wants. [796] One day she heard a thump on the roof, though no one else could hear it, nor could they hear the whistle with which

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jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman practises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Thitdplilan·a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

The following was related as an instance of the danger to a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nalleax* was, like his father, named *Dudaxeeq*". One April he and his wife went upstream to *Xwunis*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

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About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *ɛxpulaw*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*.....*m*. If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Alqentăw*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*....., four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kasiaot*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *ɛxpulaw* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Spipiqhuda-i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *spia*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Swaly*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Astrahezdi*, whose ancestral name is *Kamilkăn*, likewise petrified.

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In most of these places a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers. The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

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[i.e - certain spots where power is localized - see ant. 116, pp 594-600 for their location - ANALYST]

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ceremonial chastity. This state is pleasing to supernatural beings, who otherwise are likely to punish one trespassing on their haunts. The Bella Coola have not clearly formulated their beliefs with regard to these places, consequently the experiences of one individual are usually quite different from those of another, a circumstance regarded as quite natural on the assumption that the supernatural beings are able to manifest themselves in many ways.

Skutkwaily and the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel are the places that figure most commonly in mythology. At the former is *Skutkwaily*'s chamber-vessel, a pool always full of clear water though not fed by any spring. If a person suffering from the virulent skin disease known as *lisklz* swims in it, drinks some of the water, and then vomits, he will recover.

Not only the pond itself, but the whole neighbourhood, is the seat of mysterious power, as the following tale describes.

Near the western end of the pool there is a rock from which long ago three men dived and failed to return. A sick man decided to do the same and leapt in, feet first, wearing around his chest some dyed cedar-bark. He plunged through the water and found that he was standing on the roof of a house; he walked around it, then returned to the surface, and back to his starting point. He dived three times more, and when he emerged for the fourth time his sickness had left him. He returned to Bella Coola and told of his experience. Since that time sick people have been carried to the pool, and have dived in from the same rock, always feet first, and always wearing dyed cedar-bark. All are able to feel the roof of the house, and are cured by the immersion.

The trail used by the Carrier Indians when raiding the coastal tribes passed by this lake, and on one occasion the Bella Coola, bent on retaliation, used the same path and paused to rest on the shore. They all bathed in the pool and asked help from the power there localised, then as they lay on the grass drying their long hair in the sunshine, a house emerged. Slowly it floated upwards, filling the whole area formerly occu-

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778 could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be
755 followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water
539 became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he
* 787 managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

755 During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all
• [785] such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained
[761] from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[34]

755 According to another account the creature that visits a
776 patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *ääkwł'*. As already described, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[35] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

776 Others of these ääimals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[34] See vol. I, p. 609 for further results of this treatment.
[35] There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

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778 rushed past him it brushed his legs. From its malign touch
755 they became as if tied together at the knees, so that he could
* [787] hardly walk. When all other cures failed he bathed in all the healing places on the coast, and was cured by the time he had returned to Bella Coola.

• [785] Before embarking on such an expedition, a sufferer must observe continence for at least three months, and continue this after his return, otherwise he will die. It is wise to start at *Snuwals*, on South Bentinck Arm, proceeding from there down South Bentinck Arm, across Labouchere Channel, and towards Kimsquit, since in this way the patient travels sunwise, increasing the potency of his efforts.

At *Snuwals* there is a ledge of rock that projects out over the water; the sick person dives through a hole into the fiord. From this point he proceeds to *Nukilā·xta*, on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about half a mile above the Hot Springs. This is the place of the giant, many-coloured spider, turned to stone. Among its legs there are numerous holes in which the patient lays a stick and pieces of his clothing, taken from the part of the body affected, saying as he does so:

"Please, Powerful One, help me to return to strength."

The third place of curing is the Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm, *Ixpe·xam*. Here the patient lies in the hot water and leaves portions of his worn clothing as some sort of vague offering to the being there. The Bella Coola have no clear conception as to why the scraps should be left; apparently they have never considered whether it was actually of service to the being. At the present time it appears to be only a ritual handed down from great antiquity.

Leaving South Bentinck Arm the patient proceeds to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel, the characteristics of which have already been described. The final place visited is *Awaḵwam*, on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit, where the ocean penetrates far under a ledge of rock. The sufferer is lowered through a vent about six feet in diameter until he stands on a boulder at the edge of the sea

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778 the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from 755 the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and * [787] hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady ● [785] will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one 756 or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is * 787 there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

* 787 The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The [774] Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today [159] state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural power. He realizes that he could increase the probability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly, but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Älquntäm* enters *Nusmät·a*, wise men separate from their wives and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chastity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

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experiences, but adds to the reliability of their prognostications. At that season, if a hunter dreams that he will not be successful, he remains at home knowing that it will be useless for him to seek game.

Though dreams are considered and remembered most carefully at the solstices, it must not be imagined that they are disregarded at other seasons. Often there is neither mental picture nor apparition, merely a voice, the sound of which indicates that the hearer will be fortunate the following day. Instead of a voice without body, a dream may consist of a speechless apparition which indicates by gestures the fate in store for the dreamer. One elderly Bella Coola who keeps a small shop states that he can usually tell in this way whether or not he will sell much goods during the coming day. Many years ago, after frequent visits from a being of this kind, the man became the leading fisherman for one of the canneries; he attributed his success to his nameless benefactor, for whose benefit he threw a number of small pieces of food into the fire. Occasionally, specific information or advice is received. On one occasion, when this same man was ill, he dreamt that a supernatural being appeared and told him to wash in the river, that it was breath to all human beings; he did so regularly, and was soon restored to health. Sometimes the information is with regard to the future. On the night of January 15, 1924, he dreamt that two naked Carriers were standing beside his bed. He asked them what they wanted, and why they were without clothing.

"We always appear as an omen of trouble in the land," they answered.

Next day there was a heavy fall of snow which he regarded as fulfilling the prophecy. The dreamer was X, the man of imaginative temperament who had beheld the white and black supernatural beings. These instances illustrate the manner in which the same individual has repeated experiences of similar type. X claims that he began to dream when a small child,

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* 787 843 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 843 775 [553] Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grandmother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 [761] A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is remembered that there were many dreams of fire before the [731] outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

* 787 224 [785] The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

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* 539 * 756 * 787 tune, remembering what the latter had told him the previous evening. He feared to follow his friend's track, and, as night came on, closed the tent and went to sleep, with the dog beside him. When it was quite dark he was wakened by the sound of footsteps and the tapping of a stick, and concluded that his partner was returning. The tent-flap was untied, as if by a person entering, but *Ălxĭmlaix* could see nothing, so he kicked the dog to waken it and the animal began to bark furiously. At length he heard the steps withdraw and grow fainter as they climbed the mountain. Then *Ălxĭmlaix* realized that his friend was dead, and that it was his life, [775] flashing round to visit his companions, which had come to him. Terrified, he lay awake all night with a blazing fire, and fled the next morning.

Ălxĭmlaix chanced to meet several canoes soon after he had quitted his camp, and when he had told his story, their occupants turned back to hunt for *Nunusxwmolėk*. About eighteen men searched all that day unsuccessfully, but a few days later another party found the corpse of the missing hunter. Presumably he had fired at the goat, though whether he struck it or not was not known, and the animal had charged. A wound in *Nunusxwmolėk*'s groin showed where one of the horns had pierced him, and the two had rolled together to death over a precipice, the bodies becoming slightly separated in the fall.

Even if *Nunusxwmolėk* had struck the goat it would not have availed him, since he was doomed to death. Not only had he taken great risks in hunting within one year of his previous experience, but his wife had been careless during his absence. He had long practised continence, and [785] thereby was in a clean condition such as is approved by animals, and [761] other supernatural beings, but this very condition rendered him peculiarly susceptible to any breaking of taboos by his wife. She had so far forgotten herself as to indulge in swinging when he was on the mountain, so that his death was inevitable. *Nunusxwmolėk*'s relatives were very angry and prophesied that she would soon die. They were right, though whether her death was caused by a sorcerer, or by the accumulative power of their thoughts, is a matter no one can determine.

THE *Tlăqmă·ks*

In the beginning of time, when *Ălquntăm* sent down *Kăliăkus* to this earth, he used his own initiative and travelled to the east for abalone-shell and to the west for copper. On returning to his settlement, he determined to try to lure to it a supernatural being, of whose existence he was aware from his previous life in the land above. Accordingly, he fashioned some of the copper into jingling bangles, which he fastened to the ropes of his infant's cradle. [177] Before the introduction of white men's [854] cradles, the Bella Coola were accustomed to tie a child in a cloth and

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Älquntäm told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and [858]
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his [785] ●
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

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841 ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the
856 morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far
789 into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is
matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat
[785] has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and
covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

[868] A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed
[424] down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

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"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [785] [761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [177] [164]

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755 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitte and the other from *Djoldänux*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to steep for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was next given water in which had been boiled needles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death.

[785] [761]

The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakiutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two sane men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four means)

(1) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(2) Pound *skus'tcalx*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

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789 regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

755 In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

[753] [825] Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this [785] cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The antidote to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

755 775 *To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost*

The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 824 825 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Ałquntăm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noăkxnum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, several succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose patron was *Noăkxnum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noăkxnum* is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river the *kusiut* dances begin.

785 831 787 626 776 575 796

184 424 551 It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only slight variations, if any. In *Tcimotl* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noăkxnum* is a certain *Qoxolăn·i*,[11] in Kimsquit, *Ałuskinwasam*,[12] and in *Siskiutl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

115 426 578 [11]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qoxolăn·i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[12]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

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526 [172]

in former times. *Sk̓lsa* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played.

526 525

A game with somewhat similar rules is *ɬqwlaiăk*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun.

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. [785] Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration [554] by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and [628] the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [578]

526

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy.

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Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing

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Then she sat down to the meal with her husband, the routine being exactly as she had described it to her visitor. After they had finished eating, *Stuix*'s wife told him of the day's happenings, how a woman, giving her name, had visited the camp and had asked a great many questions about him, including whether or not he observed ceremonial chastity, and other personal matters. 539*

"What did you tell her?" *Stuix* asked his wife.

"Oh, I answered her truthfully," she replied.

"You should never have done that!" *Stuix* burst out in anger. "It was none of her business. Don't you know that you should never discuss a hunter's observance of ceremonial chastity? You have behaved very badly." [785 831]

Stuix had reason for his wrath, because no wife should ever discuss this matter, as in so doing she weakens or destroys her husband's power.

A few days afterward the evil woman again visited *Stuix*'s camp, carrying concealed beneath her blanket a wooden club used for killing salmon. *Stuix*'s wife did not see the approach of her hypocritical friend, who struck her on the head with the weapon and killed her. The murderess dragged her victim's body a short distance from the camp; with her copper knife she removed the skin and drew it over her own body, endeavouring in every way to make it fit. But the wife of *Stuix* had been larger than the bad woman, who tried to remedy the difference in size by tying the excess in wrinkles around her hips. The greatest difficulty was about the eyes, where the skin hung in folds which the impostor sewed neatly to make less noticeable. When all was done the murderess scraped a hole in the soft ground and buried the body of her victim.

While awaiting the return of *Stuix* the impostor busied herself in carrying out all the small household occupations, just as she had been told about them. Towards dusk *Stuix* came back. He noticed that his wife looked peculiar and uneasy, but said nothing about it; they sat down together to the meal but the woman kept her eyes lowered, lest the loose skin about them might betray her. *Stuix* wondered at that and also at her voice, which did not sound normal. At night the masquerader went first to bed, as a wife always does when her husband is observing ceremonial chastity. *Stuix* followed shortly. In a few minutes an owl hooted:

"*Stuix*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin round her hips."

Neither man nor woman spoke. Even at that distant period it was well known that the voice of a dead person passes into an owl, though only rarely can one communicate with the living. It was, in fact, the slain wife speaking from above the spot where her body lay. The murderess feared that *Stuix* would put his arm around her waist, but she was saved because his observance of ceremonial chastity prevented him from doing so. [775 825]

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Nuswin·ăm̓, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
nuswinăsta: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
Nusx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective.*
Nuspalpiɣ: Tăl·io bird hunter.
Nusyemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alpalăxl* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nusyemtaăn·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alpalăxl* in the beginning of time.
Nusxeɣ: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nusxi·ipsta: Repository, archaic term. [431]
nusxwaa·dł·nutsnam: The assumption of a name upon earth.
dusxwakmpsta, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nusxwa·ɬsta: Wooden dish used for washing an infant. [415]
nusxwălamtom: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [985]
nuxaikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
Nuxoda·xw̓: Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nuxum: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nuxsl, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nuxsxymm: Alteration of a dance from *xixaak* to *kusiut.* [825]
nuxtăxsta: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nuxtăxstămmam, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
nuxtăxstămam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nuxtux, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nuthaɬɬ: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nuxpăxlt* in the beginning of time. [845]
nuthunth: Parents of twins. [825]
nutsaqmax: Wolf.
Nuxăthmaix: Mythical house in the sky.
Nuxaymăxl: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuxtaiakem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thixaplăx·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nuxaikim.* [756]
nuxtiaymam: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nuxtixăxm: Kusiutem rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nuxtkwuxm: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nuxqoxa, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who points upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nuxqwaɬt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nuxwimtx: Kusiut name of a *Tsmsiat* man.

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[825] *Salakst:* Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
saxis-d'xtsnu-kwa: One of the river sculpins.
saxskumlc: To gather cedar-bark.
Sximsma: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sxtil: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
[101] *Sxitkuta,* "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
Sxtokmp: Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Sxrwulk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Sxuxtlu: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sxuxlq: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
sxuxlxemdimut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
sxuxlxtc: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
sxw'xwu: Maid.
sxwaixa: Person or object which is taboo.
Sxwaixawas: Evil supernatural being.
Sxwaitlwas, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
sxwkwaw ydi mnu: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
sxwlxta: Sorcerer's box.
Sxw-lxumxtu-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxyu: Female lover, especially a paramour.
sxyuwas: Male lover.
Sxyuy-ut: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
syaw: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *saxtala:* Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *saxtalaxtsut:* The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
saxtalawai: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
sqak: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sqalqalqaitu-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
saim: Cedar-bark cord.
Szimsma: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Szimszimuk: Immoral supernatural woman.
szlil': Afterbirth.
Szlyuitu-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Szmic:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
[761] 2—Man who performs woman's work.
szmumuxtc klil': Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Szul'ixt,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
[805] *Szulul,* "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
szu-ut: Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
szumuk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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Xemkaix: One of the first men to settle at *Xenqvo'o* in the beginning of time.
Xemtsem: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Skidegate* man.
Xemxemkaitla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemkaix: Assumed name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtsem: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
[533] 2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqaklaid* in the beginning of time.
ae'ae: Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xeilikus: One of the first men to settle at *Xeilaulx* in the beginning of time.
Xelkus: *Kwakiutl* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *xepe*: Marten.
[412] *xila*: Stone axe.
xilaid: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
Ximpdimut: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximxemkaix: A tall man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximxemkaix: Celebrated female shaman.
ximpuxtc-i, plural, ximpuxtcdzi: Little girl.
[821] *Ximpuxs*: 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
[517] 2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xinxis: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xoimtc-a, "Right Foot": *Stuie* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xopi: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xoxoimtc: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xkaxtcmx: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xkiid: The entreating, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xlo'omdz*: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xlokw-imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmoxm*: Locality below *Nuxalkit*.
[601] *xoqvaxid*: Minnows.
[614] *xoxe*: Woman, or wife in indirect address (*ki xoxdzix*: My wife).
xoxetcta: Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *xoxodzin or xoqvaxdzin*: The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xuxulk: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xulxit: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xulxvaxcaux: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[985] *xuxlyut*: Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[891] *Xwaiaks*: Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xwaxaqvaqs: Ancestral name of a *Stuie* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xwayaitsa: Supernatural scamp-cat fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xwpaitlc: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
713 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
716 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

Ever since that time the Bîlqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
575 seen Anahlkôtsai'u sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
716 Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisau'ku dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through
575 an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Ti'akô'otl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[552] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'ku, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] tlaqô'tla (the Hâ'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'laq (the Nû'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dê'tla (the Nû'ntsistatl of the Hê'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the tlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs hold
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[216] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the tlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some tlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The tlaqō'tla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

The Ō'lxq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tla (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'lxq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'tla carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlxq and the Dā'tla must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'sōit, for instance when the tlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kū'sōit are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atliqulā'tsnam, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qē'mixtsa and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Maamaxlā'xiq and his fellows, the raven and the Nuxqō'mta, and many others.

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro-

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the hă'mat. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the hă'mat." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bă'xoala dance the hă'mat. When a man has seen Anatlikstsi'ē sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a hă'mat. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each hă'mat lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the hă'mat are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisa'k dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the hă'mat is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his hă'mat name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L!akō'ut. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisa'k, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the hă'mat have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the klaxā'lis (the hă'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lăx (the nō'tsmat of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'xūs (the nō'xstalasts of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A hă'mat novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 575 [924] [65] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the klaxā'lis is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the klaxā'lis. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the klaxā'lis order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [244]

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to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the NIKU'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the Si'si'pets (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of Baxbakualanux.Xa'wat of the Kwakiutl. Some NIKU'LA do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The NIKU'LA has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.

The O'LOX (the laugher) and the DA'LIS (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The O'LOX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The DA'LIS carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The O'LOX and the DA'LIS, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the KU'NIXT, for instance, when the NIKU'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person deride the ceremonies or make a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shamans, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around